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The Shape of Things

ALTHOUGH THE TIDE OF BATTLE APPEARS still to be flowing against the Red Army, it is clear that the German invaders are encountering far stiffer resistance than they had expected. After the first rush across the frontier they received a definite check at the Stalin line. Now the panzer divisions are making a renewed effort to create gaps in the line and establish pockets from which to carry out their favorite flanking movements. The Nazi news agencies are making very large claims, asserting that the Russian armies are becoming demoralized and that the capture of Leningrad and Kiev is imminent; but the German High Command, after a burst of exuberance at the week-end, has returned to laconic declarations that the offensive is "progressing steadily." Moscow continues to express confidence that the drive will be halted, but its communiqués admit that fighting is taking place near towns which a few days ago were well behind the battle front. The possibility of further retreats must be faced. Loss of territory will not, however, prove fatal to the Soviets so long as their main armies remain intact. There is some reason to believe that the major German attack at present is aimed at Leningrad and forms part of a maneuver designed to break up the Russian right wing as a preliminary to a gigantic encircling movement which would block the retreat of the Red Army to the Urals. Both sides stress the bloody nature of the fighting, and Russia admits losses of 250,000. Those of the German army can hardly be less.

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WHEN BERLIN LABELS THE BRITISH-RUSSIAN agreement unimportant, that in itself is proof of the contrary. In jointly declaring that neither government will separately make peace London and Moscow have clarified both the military and political perspectives of the war. The truth of this is self-evident if one considers what a contribution to the Battle of the Mediterranean and the Near East a loyal French government could have made from North Africa and Syria. If the Soviet government is driven from Moscow it will fight on. It may be argued that it would have done so without the new pact. That is true. But the agreement implies also that the peace itself

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will be jointly negotiated. That is of profound significance. Excellent as the pact is, however, it appears to need further instrumentation. Moscow has committed itself to continued warfare in collaboration with Britain irrespective of the British government's political nature. In effect, therefore, the U. S. S. R. has contracted to defend the British Empire against "Hitlerite Germany." And Britain, on the other hand, has by implication recognized the Soviet frontiers as of June 22. At some time or other problems are sure to arise on both sides. Moreover, the relation of the two great allies, for such they now are in fact, to the Far Eastern problem needs clarification. At present Tokyo's tendency is toward the South. That movement might be reversed should the Soviets suffer serious defeat at the hands of Germany. In that case what would Britain do? It would be fantastic, but not more so than other things in this war, if Britain and Russia should be found fighting the Nazis while Russia alone resisted Japan. And this directly concerns the United States. The realism shown in London should prompt Washington to serious thought. There are now four great anti-Axis powers—Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and the United States. The coordination of their separate efforts is an urgent necessity.

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THOUGH IT KNEW THAT ITS SYRIAN ARMY had come to the end of its tether, the Vichy government delayed the inevitable capitulation by rejecting the generous British terms for an armistice. Then it handed the ball to General Dentz, who has negotiated an agreement with the British and Free French authorities. The conditions have not been published as we write, but presumably they are substantially the same as those which Vichy turned down as "contrary to national honor." Since, however, the original terms were not published in France, Pétain's government will no doubt claim that the new edition is far less severe and represents a diplomatic victory. In any case it is satisfactory to record the end of this unfortunate war between old friends, which has cost too much blood even though British tactics sacrificed speed to keep down casualties. The control of Syria is going to provide the British with some knotty political problems, but it greatly strengthens their position from a military point of view. It will now be possible for the Middle Eastern command to put increased pressure on the Axis forces in Libya. Already the tempo of air attacks on their supply lines and bases has risen sharply, and there is reason to hope that General Rommel's situation on the Egyptian frontier is becoming precarious.

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LARGE NUMBERS OF NAZI TECHNICIANS ARE busily engaged at Dakar, Casablanca, and other French African ports strengthening the fortifications and installing new anti-aircraft and coast-defense batteries, according to reports in the London *Daily Express*. This newspaper received its information from a French Foreign Legion officer who before his escape to Lisbon had been in charge of labor gangs at several of these bases. At Casablanca, this officer said, Nazi submarines frequently enter the port, where a special dock appears to be reserved for them, refuel, and take on provisions before setting forth on new raids. At Mers el Kebir, on the Mediterranean coast, Nazi engineers are salvaging the vessels sunk there last year by the British fleet. The unfinished French battleship Jean Bart and the crippled Richelieu are both tied up at Casablanca, which is a central depot for many kinds of military equipment, including between three and four hundred planes. These are grounded by lack of oil at the present time, but our State Department, still striving to appease General Weygand, will soon provide a solution for that difficulty. French officials, in explaining the military preparations which are going forward under German direction, say that they are precautionary measures being taken to forestall an expected United States invasion of Africa. Yet the State Department is willingly cooperating with Vichy and Berlin by putting pressure on the British to lift the blockade of the French African colonies.

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THE ADMINISTRATION'S DESIRE TO AMEND the conscription law so as to make possible the retention of draftees and National Guardsmen beyond a one-year term seems likely to produce a bitter fight in Congress. The isolationists are gleefully sharpening their knives, and one of their number, Senator Reynolds of North Carolina, who unfortunately heads the Senate Military Affairs Committee, is threatening to turn the hearings on the amendment into a kind of public demonstration. Opposition from such quarters is to be expected, and it is regrettably being encouraged by the political fears of many Congressmen who normally support the President's defense policies. In a conference with Capitol leaders of both parties Mr. Roosevelt and General George C. Marshall have made available reports compiled by the Military and Naval Intelligence Service providing cogent reasons for the retention of the selectees. Such reports obviously cannot be published, but there are other good military reasons for the Administration's proposals which can be discussed. The release of hundreds of thousands of selectees who are only half trained, partly owing to the absence of adequate equipment, and their replacement with an equal number of raw recruits would set back the organization of a really effective army by many months. Since the selectees are mixed in with the regulars, numerous units which are just beginning to attain efficiency would be left in a state of dislocation. In the face of an ever-deepening emergency we cannot afford to take the risks this step involves. It would be equally dangerous, we believe, to retain the rigid geographical restric-

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tions on the employment of our new army while the only limits to Hitler's sphere of action are those imposed by his opponents.

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THE OPM HAS FINALLY AGREED TO GIVE labor as well as industry the privilege of having an advisory committee in each of the new commodity sections to be set up in the mechanism of defense. Our Washington office, after considerable inquiry, reports that labor committees were not omitted in the original plan against the wishes of Sidney Hillman but with his knowledge. Hillman and his aides seem to have felt that their direct participation in the commodity sections enabled them to protect labor's interests without advisory committees. Two recent events lead us to believe that Hillman may have been over-confident. One is his failure to obtain a full hearing for the Reuther plan; the other, his inability to bar the grant of another quarter-million-dollar shoe contract to the Endicott Johnson Company, although that firm has been held in violation of both the Wage-Hour and the Fair Labor Standards Act, and although smaller shoe companies complying with the law are working at less than full capacity. In a showdown between Hillman and Harold Florsheim of the Florsheim Shoe Company, the dollar-a-year man in charge of shoe purchases, it was Florsheim who won. Mr. Hillman's own powers all too often seem merely "advisory."

*

THE ADVANTAGE OF LABOR COMMITTEES IN the defense setup, even though their status is only advisory, seems to lie in the probability that their members would tend to air grievances and mobilize public pressure behind labor's objectives. Mr. Hillman has too often preferred to handle his disputes in private. He may have some difficulty in recruiting representatives for these committees, since the C. I. O., at the same rally which organized the lobby against the May bill, voted to take no part in advisory defense committees. Philip Murray feels that it would be wiser for the labor movement to stand aloof until he can win the Administration to his defense-council plan, in which labor would have a direct voice in industrial-defense decisions. The fear seems to be that advisory committees might put labor in the position of sharing responsibility for defense measures which it had no real part in formulating. In the meantime there is great confusion at the OPM about the setup of the new commodity sections. Mr. Hillman's division says a labor representative in each section will have a vote equal to those of the representatives of priorities, purchases, and production, while Mr. Knudsen's division says this has yet to be determined. Decisions may be made by the commodity-section chief, who will be a dollar-a-year man.

Mr. Ickes and Alcoa

THE House Military Affairs Committee, which sponsored the May bill to break strikes by labor, sprang characteristically to the defense of capital's strikers. Secretary Ickes, we are glad to see, made his usual straight-from-the-shoulder reply to the committee's defense of the Aluminum Company of America and its attacks upon himself.

The Military Affairs Committee, in a report made by Representative Faddis of Pennsylvania, of whom Mr. Stone provides an illuminating glimpse in his letter from Washington this week, sought to blame the Secretary for the lag in aluminum production, accusing him of having delayed expansion of aluminum by refusing to grant a certain block of Bonneville-Grand Coulee power to Alcoa and giving it instead to the Reynolds Metals Company. The truth, as shown by the testimony before the Truman committee, is that Reynolds Metals foresaw an aluminum shortage when Alcoa and Stettinius were still denying its possibility. The country is indebted to Mr. Reynolds—to the extent of an extra 100,000,000 pounds of aluminum a year—for his enterprise last summer in starting work on new aluminum-producing facilities and to TVA and Mr. Ickes for allocating electric power to him despite the adverse pressure mobilized by the OPM and the War Department. Jesse Jones shares the credit by his grant of a loan to Reynolds Metals for the construction of these new facilities.

Mr. Ickes points out in a letter to Chairman May of the Military Affairs Committee that in the Bonneville Act Congress wisely provided that electric power was to be distributed in such a way as "to encourage the widest possible use of all electric energy that can be generated and marketed and to provide reasonable outlets therefor, and to prevent the monopolization thereof by limited groups." Alcoa already has been granted 40 per cent of the power to be generated at Bonneville, but in pursuance of its dog-in-the-manger policy it would have liked to prevent any allocation of power to a competing company. "I submit," the Secretary of the Interior writes, "that competition will not keep down the supply but will increase it. Competition means that manufacturers are kept on their toes. . . . There is another aspect of this matter which perhaps you did not consider. There can hardly be any doubt that Alcoa has made outrageously high profits. The United States government ought to be interested in buying aluminum more cheaply." It ought to be but it isn't, and that is because the dollar-a-year men at the OPM and Congressmen like some of those on the House Military Affairs Committee are more interested in safeguarding the aluminum monopoly than in protecting their country.

Nothing could be more disturbing than the chorus of abuse in the press which has followed the plain speak-

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ing of Mr. Ickes on the aluminum monopoly and its dangers to the defense program. The testimony before the Truman committee showed how expansion of aluminum facilities has been delayed by the Aluminum Company, although aluminum is a basic necessity of a war to be fought largely in the air. Yet newspapers like the New York *Herald Tribune* and the New York *Times,* which are for an all-out effort, attacked the Secretary furiously for criticizing Alcoa. We cannot win this war without planes, and we shall not have enough aluminum for our bombers until a few more men in high places have the courage to speak out as frankly as Mr. Ickes. When the Secretary said that if we should lose this war it would be because of lack of aluminum, he was not exaggerating. Yet the aluminum trust which permitted Hitler to expand his production while it held back expansion of our own aluminum facilities is treated as a sacred cow by newspapers which say they would have us hold back no sacrifice to win the war.

Louder Than Words

THE occupation of Iceland not merely marks a critical development in the military strategy of the world struggle, but is almost certain to result in something ultimately still more important—a vital development of American public opinion.

The President's step has encountered surprisingly little opposition, little, that is, compared with the volume of isolationist criticism heard during the past few weeks. The Wheeler episode is illustrative of the change. For the purpose of waging his partisan campaign against the President, Senator Wheeler was ready to approach very near to the betrayal of military secrets to the enemy; was ready, it would seem, to jeopardize American lives. Yet after the occupation was announced, he expressed no particular opposition to it; he stated, indeed, that he was ready to agree to it inasmuch as the purpose of the move was defensive.

This part of the story carries a vital lesson bearing upon leadership in a democracy. American democracy is better able to judge what *acts* are right than what theories or general principles are right when these are stated in the abstract. The public as a whole has approved the occupation of Iceland because that act brought home vividly what the situation would have been if the Germans had seized the island. If the destroyer-bases deal had been debated on grounds of theory and general principle, the debate would have gone on interminably. Now the advantage of the deal to the defensive strength of this country is so clear that ninety-nine Americans out of a hundred cannot conceive that this advantage could ever have been in doubt.

Britain's shipping losses showed a sharp fall in June to 329,000 tons, but even if this improvement is maintained, sinkings this year will be beyond all hope of replacement. Churchill has never disguised the fact that a successful counter-blockade which would prevent American aid from reaching Britain could win the war for Germany. There, on the Atlantic highway, will come the supreme and final test. As Secretary Knox has well said: "Hitler cannot allow our food and war supplies to reach England—he will be defeated if they do. We cannot allow our goods to be sunk in the Atlantic—we shall be beaten if they are."

The occupation of Iceland is of itself less important than the President's accompanying order "to insure the safety of communications in the approaches between Iceland and the United States, as well as in the seas between the United States and all other strategic outposts." This means that the United States has assumed the task of protecting the cargoes destined for Britain over the greater part of the Atlantic passage. The calmness with which the public, including many of the isolationists, have accepted this latest step of the President's means that if tomorrow it became necessary to defend the delivery of supplies to Britain by "shooting," the country would accept that fact too. Not only would it accept the necessity, but if the Iceland episode is any guide, the event would sweep away the confusions by which the isolationists have in some measure managed to bemuse the country's purpose.

That purpose, however obscured by verbal fog, has never really been in doubt. It was and is to prevent a German victory which would enable the Nazis to control the resources of something like five-sixths of the world—of Britain, France, the rest of Europe, the British, French, and Dutch empires, Russia—and to use those resources to threaten the security of this country, making any free life, any concentration upon the sane ends of life, impossible.

Of course the country has hoped for peace, has hated the idea of being drawn into war, and has registered its desires in the various public-opinion polls. Every man "wants" things which are in conflict with other wants. He "wants," perhaps, to lie in bed in the morning and let the office go hang, and he would be ready doubtless to testify to that effect at the rate of about 99 per cent in the Gallup poll. But he also wants to keep his job and his career, and is willing to sacrifice the first want to the second. Asked whether Britain ought to go on fighting or negotiate, only 15 per cent were for negotiation; two-thirds of the people have pronounced for helping England "at the risk of war." There can be no doubt whatever that this country has made the choice as between a peace which would jeopardize its future security and acceptance of the risk of war for the purpose of establishing that security against the rising tide of Hitlerism.

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A Scandal in the State Department

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THROUGH occupied France to the Spanish border, through Spain and Portugal, twenty-one young Americans hurry to Lisbon to go aboard the West Point, which will bring them home. Enlisted for service as ambulance drivers with the Free French forces, they were captured by the Nazis when their ship, the old Egyptian liner Zamzam, was raided and sunk in the South Atlantic. And for three months they have been held in France as prisoners of war—or as something close enough to it to satisfy the niceties of Nazi legal etiquette.

But the State Department has never accepted Berlin's version of the affair. It has considered the ambulance drivers innocent casualties of the German war on the high seas and has steadily demanded that they be freed.

Their release was finally accomplished by a little effective bargaining. In the general exchange of consuls and other agents now under way between the two countries, the department made it clear that German nationals would be allowed to leave the United States only if Americans held as hostages or on minor political charges were freed in time to leave with the consuls. The ambulance drivers were promptly turned loose, and so were two American newspaper men, Jay Allen of the North American Newspaper Alliance and Richard G. Hottelet of the United Press, who had been in prison in Chalon and Germany.

The State Department has acted with vigor and decision. As one who has a personal interest in its outcome, I feel the deepest appreciation for the way the incident has been handled. My son is among the young men now free and on their way to Lisbon.

But it would be dishonest to pretend that gratitude and relief are not soured with less pleasant emotions. The very assiduity which the officials of the department applied to the task of freeing the Americans from the clutches of the Gestapo and bringing them home throws into sharp relief the equal zeal with which those same officials, or their colleagues, apply themselves daily to the effort to prevent non-Americans from escaping the clutches of the Gestapo and finding safety and freedom in this country. The contrast is an ugly one, not to be ignored even by a parent of a rescued son.

In Europe—particularly in Germany and the captive countries—and in North Africa, are thousands of men and women whose need to escape from Hitler's prison-continent is a matter of life or almost certain death. And most of them have clung to the hope that they may finally obtain the one real guaranty of safety—a visa for the United States.

Few at best could ever have qualified for that most precious and elusive document. The requirements of the State Department, especially in the case of political refugees, have been exacting to the point of almost total exclusion. Only the thinnest trickle of proved safe and respectable anti-fascists have come through the department's fine-meshed sieve of affidavits and investigations. But a few weeks ago a new barrier was raised—the order which shuts out all applicants for admission to the United States who have close relatives in Germany or German-occupied countries.

This cruel, indiscriminate exclusion act was put through in the form of a ruling by the Visa Division, headed by one of the most reactionary, fascist-minded members of the department, Avra M. Warren. It was put through without consultation with Sumner Welles, the acting Secretary of State, without the knowledge of the Department of Justice, without the consent of the President. It was announced to these interested officials, as it was to the public, through the press.

The excuse concocted by the Visa Division was ingenious. It announced that refugees with relatives left in German-controlled territory were forced to act as Nazi agents in order to save their kinsmen from reprisals. This is a good story with which to win popular support for a brutal and unjust restriction; nobody wants Nazi spies and agents turned loose in the United States. The only flaw in the story is its absolute lack of verification. Two weeks ago *The Nation* asked the State Department to cite a single instance of the coerced espionage it pretends it is protecting us from. No answer has come yet. And as we said in that issue, not a refugee committee nor a refugee has ever heard of a case of this sort.

The State Department story is a canard. It was invented to cover one of the most shocking administrative rulings ever laid down by our most reactionary department. If it is not rescinded, the doors of the United States may be considered locked not only against the "huddled masses yearning to breathe free" but against the desperately endangered few who seek asylum in this ungenerous land.

By two recent acts of Congress the President has been given almost unlimited power over the entrance and departure of both aliens and citizens. Under these laws he can certainly establish regulations which overrule or modify any existing departmental orders—especially orders issued without the knowledge or consent of the higher responsible officials and without legislative sanction. He should promptly demand a full report from the Department of Justice, as well as the Department of State, on the circumstances which allegedly made the new restrictions necessary. Then, in the name of everything this country is struggling to defend, he should act to wipe out an intolerable injustice.

The young men who set out on their errand of mercy

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to the soldiers of De Gaulle are coming home. But it isn't possible to take unadulterated satisfaction in their return; indeed such feeling would be treason to the spirit that sent them across the sea. I am certain that every one of them, were he free to choose, would prefer that the West Point be filled with the enemies and victims of Hitler's terror than to sail on her himself. And with that choice I could not but agree.

F.D.R. and the May Bill

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, July 13

I KNOW of no army that marches with the rabbit as its emblem, and I know of no way for Mr. Roosevelt to exert his old magic until he abandons at home the appeasement he has opposed abroad. The role he played in the defeat of the May bill was equivocal and timid, and it was left to a conservative Republican from the silk-stocking district of New York City to oppose this strike-breaking measure in the inspiring accents we had a right to expect from the leader of the New Deal.

"We have a declared national policy on defense," Congressman Joseph Clark Baldwin of New York said in opposing passage of the May bill. "For that policy to be successful—and it must be successful if this nation is to survive as a free people—we need more than a passive national unity. We must have so burning a conviction as to the justice of our cause and so unanimous an enthusiasm for its ultimate success that no enemy within or without its borders will dare to stand up against us. Now I submit that we cannot legislate enthusiasm, and that on the basis of our experience, unnecessary, unwise, and unjust restrictive legislation, wherever applied, has produced but sullen acquiescence." Beside this stirring assertion of truths that need bitterly to be relearned, the President's attitude leaves his progressive supporters blushing.

Mr. Roosevelt's half-hearted support of the Connally strike-breaking bill in the Senate made him the ally and prisoner of the intellectual hookworms who infest the Southern end of the Democratic Party. His last-minute expression of opposition to the May bill, on the day after John L. Lewis attacked it and him at a C. I. O. rally, left him in as inglorious a position. Had the White House issued a statement against the May bill in advance of the C. I. O. meeting, it would have cut the ground from under Lewis and strengthened the pro-Roosevelt forces at that skilfully packed gathering. By waiting until the day after to let it be known that he opposed the May bill, the President handed his bitter enemy a triumph. White House aides had been asking labor lawyers to please help them pick the least objectionable of the various strike-breaking measures before the House. Mr. Roosevelt had told Philip Murray that the Administration had to make some concession to a "hysterical" Congress. The vote of 218 to 151 against the May bill, after vigorous C. I. O. lobbying, again demonstrated that the strength of the politicos from the poll-tax states is in inverse ratio to the volume of their ranting.

The Connally bill found its excuse in the need of the Administration to obtain some authorization for the seizure of the North American plant that would be less diaphanous than the legal opinion furnished by the complaisant Mr. Jackson. Mr. Jackson's discovery that an "aggregate of powers" enables a President to do what no one of his powers singly authorizes, transferred to our constitutional law the interesting proposition that two plus two equals five. The Connally bill was broader than it needed to be to provide absolution for the North American affair; the May bill was much broader than the Connally bill. The Connally bill authorized the President to break strikes not only in plants working on defense material but in those equipped to do so and in those "capable of being readily transformed into [plants] equipped for the manufacture of such articles or materials." The May bill authorized the President to break the strike but forbade him to seize the plant. It was designed to provide a maximum of strike-breaking with a minimum of interference with business.

The Connally and May bills were advertised as guaranteeing the right to work—the right to work of any man who was willing to walk through a picket line. The mentality which lies behind this kind of legislation may be gathered from a few sample specimens. Congressman Charles I. Faddis, the anti-New Deal Democrat from Pennsylvania who headed the House Military Affairs subcommittee in charge of the bills, told me he thought we should have shot Debs last time and that this time we would "handle fifth columnists in the American way—with a rope." Senator Bailey, in the debate over the Connally bill, which he favored, held up some strange examples for our emulation. "There are not any strikes in Germany," he said, "none in Japan." The Senator from North Carolina is prepared, with a suspicious alacrity, to make the ultimate sacrifice. "I," he declared, "would give up the Bill of Rights to save America." Some people think the Senator has been hunt-

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ing an excuse for some time. "Cotton Ed" Smith of South Carolina said the Connally bill meant, "You will either get out and go to work or I will stick a bayonet in you." These men are odd company for Mr. Roosevelt.

The defeat of the May bill shows what can be done by organized labor effort. Mr. Roosevelt helps those who help themselves, and the most fruitful period of the New Deal was that in which an organized and united labor movement kept the heat on the White House. It is hard for some people to recall the pressure it took to obtain the President's support for some of the measures which are now recognized as being among the great achievements of his Administration. It is also worth recalling that those were the days when Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Lewis worked together instead of at cross-purposes. The mine leader remains the ablest of labor's spokesmen. He has *fight* and he has style. His dark forebodings about what the defense program would do to labor have proved resoundingly untrue. Labor's gains in the past eighteen months are the proof. If Mr. Lewis could manage to straighten out a case of mistaken identity with God, if he stopped confusing sycophancy to John L. Lewis with loyalty to labor, if he got over the notion he still cherishes that Hitler is just another hard-boiled employer who can be badgered and bargained into a world closed-shop contract, it might be possible to bring him and Mr. Roosevelt together again. The obstacles, 95 per cent personal, are enormous, but the outlook at the moment is slightly more hopeful. Hitler's blitz toward the east threatens to isolate John L. Lewis as well as the Pripet Marshes. Moscow will do nothing to offend Washington and the Communists will do nothing to offend Moscow. The best of friends may part. Mr. Lewis faces desertion on the war issue by the Communists, who alone remained faithful to him after the débâcle of the Willkie indorsement. He must, after a respectable interval, do a ponderous somersault into the pro-war camp and thus move closer to the New Deal, or he must slide farther out on a long, lonely limb with Wheeler and Lindbergh.

Litvinov Answers Stalin

BY LOUIS FISCHER

STALIN and Litvinov have spoken from Moscow. Stalin addressed the Soviet peoples in a bad Russian accent. Litvinov broadcast to Britain and America in a bad English accent. Stalin was on the defensive. He tried to justify the Soviet-Nazi pact of August 23, 1939, which Hitler tore up when he invaded Russia. Five days later Litvinov condemned the Soviet-Nazi pact and bravely championed his own earlier policy of collective security. Litvinov, of course, made the customary, and compulsory, obeisance to "our beloved leader Stalin." In all else the Litvinov utterance was a criticism of Stalin.

> It may be asked [Stalin said]: How could the Soviet government have consented to conclude a non-aggression pact with such treacherous fiends as Hitler and Ribbentrop? Was not this an error on the part of the Soviet government? Of course not!

Of course, yes.

> I think [he proceeded] that not a single peace-loving state would decline a peace treaty with a neighboring state even though the latter were headed by such fiends and cannibals as Hitler and Ribbentrop. But that, of course, only on one indispensable condition —namely, that this peace treaty did not infringe either directly or indirectly on the territorial integrity, independence, and honor of a peace-loving state. As is well known, the non-aggression pact between Germany and the U. S. S. R. was precisely such a pact.

Wow! So the Soviet-Nazi pact did not infringe directly or indirectly on the territorial integrity of Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland? Or perhaps Poland was not a "peace-loving state." Didn't Hitler say that Poland planned to invade Germany?

> What [Stalin asks] did we gain by concluding a non-aggression pact with Germany? We secured for our country peace for a year and a half and the opportunity of preparing its forces to repulse Fascist Germany should it risk an attack on our country despite the pact.

That is how Chamberlain and Daladier defended Munich: it gave them a breathing spell in which to arm. Apply Stalin's words, and acts, to the United States: Roosevelt signs a non-aggression pact with Hitler. To win Germany's favor, America thereupon delivers supplies to Germany but not to England. This gives the United States an opportunity of preparing should Germany risk an attack on this country. A perfect Stalin case for isolationism!

The Soviet-Nazi pact was stupid enough in its time. Its critics opposed it because it was bad for Russia and bad for the Soviet regime. But for Stalin to defend it now, when it stands revealed as a self-defeating piece of

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appeasement, is the height of absurdity and exposes Stalin's fatal love of the crown of infallibility which he has set upon his own head.

But why should I indict Stalin? Litvinov has done it.

> In order to fulfil his dream of world domination [Litvinov said] Hitler always has used the principle to divide and to attack. He uses the most invidious means in order to prevent his victims from organizing a common resistance, taking special pains to avoid a war on two fronts against the most powerful European countries. His strategy is to knock down his victims and strike them one by one in an order prompted by circumstances.

This states plainly that the Soviet government should have frustrated Hitler's strategy of "divide and attack." Instead of yielding to the "most invidious means"—the pact and the bribes of half of Poland, the Baltic states, and Bessarabia—Stalin should have organized a "common resistance" with England and France. For, Litvinov continues, "we always realized the danger which a Hitler victory in the west could constitute for us." Yet Stalin contributed to the Hitler victory in France and the Lowlands by remaining helpfully "neutral" after the pact. So did the American Communists by opposing aid to England and France, and the French Communists by sabotaging national defense.

"Each blow now," Litvinov pleads to England and America, "is ten times more effective and less costly than later, when each of us might be weaker." Strike Germany now, Litvinov urges England, while the Russians are engaging Hitler's armed forces. Strike Germany now, Litvinov would similarly have advised Stalin, while Hitler is invading France and bombing England; "later each of us might be weaker."

If it was right for Russia to remain aloof while France was being crushed, then it would be right for England to do nothing while Hitler is overrunning Russia. But Churchill promised to rain blows upon Germany now, and not wait as Stalin did. On the showing made by the Red Army in the first three weeks of its contest with Hitler, one is entitled to say that Soviet entry into the European war in May, 1940, might have saved France. If France were standing and fighting Hitler today, Germany could not now have concentrated all its strength against Russia. By dividing Hitler's forces in May and June, 1940, the Soviet regime might have prevented the recent disastrous assault upon itself.

Stalin says Russia is stronger now because it had a year and a half after the pact in which to arm. I think it is weaker because all its potential allies on the Continent have meanwhile been crushed by Germany, and today Russia faces Hitler alone. It is weaker because it has Finland, the Baltic states, and Rumania as bitter enemies, whereas in 1939 or 1940 it might have had them as allies or as protective buffers. It is weaker because since 1939 it has found it difficult to obtain the machine tools and non-ferrous metals without which it cannot modernize its airplanes and other weapons. It is weaker because the pact and the attack on Finland alienated many of its working-class friends in Europe and America.

When persons like myself contended that Moscow should not have signed the pact with Hitler in August, 1939, the Communists replied that Hitler, in such a case, would have taken Poland and marched on into Russia while France and England remained passive. The obvious answer was that if Hitler had wished to do so he would have done so. He had the long months of the "phony" war in which to do it. Now Litvinov completely refutes this old, and silly, Communist argument by declaring that Hitler "intended first to deal with the Western countries so that he would be free to fall on the Soviet Union." Litvinov thus implies that Stalin and the foreign Communists should have helped the Western countries so Hitler would not be free to fall on Russia.

Maxim Litvinov, the world's No. 1 anti-appeaser, can be pardoned for taking a side swipe at the Chamberlain and Daladier schools by reminding them that they ignored his appeals between 1936 and 1939 to "organize a resistance" to Nazi aggressiveness. Subsequent events in Britain and France have vindicated him, and current events in Russia likewise vindicate his doctrine of "indivisibility." No matter how secure a nation may seem, its only real security in the presence of world fascism lies in collective action against aggressors. Stalin ignored this truth, and Russia is paying the heavy cost.

Were it not for the background of burning cities and farms sown with dead and wounded members of a fine Soviet generation, Litvinov could celebrate a great personal triumph. While Moscow followed a course which Litvinov abominated, he could not be made to talk in praise of it. Now that the course has led to the gory battlefield, Litvinov is permitted to talk as he pleases. It is big of Stalin to allow that. It reflects the gravity of the crisis. The Soviet regime is fighting for its life.

The Soviet Union is fighting only because it was attacked. For Russia, Stalin asserts, this is a "national war." That is correct, and anything he adds about his interest in the "European peoples groaning under the yoke of German fascism" is so much bunk, for he helped to put them there. "Our war for the freedom of our country," says Stalin, "will merge with the struggle of the peoples of Europe and America for their independence, for democratic liberties." "Will merge with" means that the struggle of the European peoples for independence and democracy has been going on for some time. In other words, this has been from the beginning a war for independence and democracy and not an imperialist war.

A different and better Russia may rise from the ashes of the Stalin line. First, however, I can only see Russia bathed in blood.

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The Iceland Salient

BY ALEXANDER KIRALFY

DIPLOMATICALLY profiting by Germany's preoccupation on the Soviet front, the commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the United States dispatched warships and transports to the Icelandic port of Reykjavik. And there was possibly more diplomacy than sheer coincidence in the fact that the President announced this event at a moment when the Nazi spearheads were advancing fewer miles per day than had previously been the case. Otherwise the Axis protests against this American move would have been couched in considerably stronger terms. For the action taken by Washington strikes deep beneath the commonly observed surface, and in so doing touches totalitarian military ideology to the quick.

The obvious grounds for Axis displeasure are that an increased garrison in Iceland will eliminate the possibility of a Nazi seizure of the island, and that American warships, operating from its ports, will lighten the strain of convoy now burdening the Royal Navy. But it is a hidden factor that has probably shocked the militaristic powers most—the realization that a great democracy has trespassed upon a sound military doctrine hitherto reserved as a secret monopoly by the autocracies of the world. Since military movements are an extremely practical matter, the advancing of a hemispheric defensive arm to Iceland was motivated by the preceding apparent reasons. None the less, significance attaches to the manner in which the Iceland operation pried open a militaristic monopoly.

This monopoly may best be described by saying that it is the composite totalitarian conception of the physical obstacles that lie between it and the enemy—deserts and mountains, rivers and seas. By the democracies such barriers have always been regarded as *protective* bulwarks, as "Maginot lines," while despotisms have viewed them as obstacles that they must overcome in order to *strike* at the enemy. However many times they may have been frustrated, militaristic powers have never abandoned the attempt to level mountains and "freeze" oceans into veritable "concrete platforms" for the armies they intended to hurl at the enemy's very heart.

These facts have been overlooked because the autocrat of the modern world, Germany, has not as yet been able to "freeze" wide areas of the seas. By its use of submarines, however, Germany has tried to deny the democracies the retention of an oceanic highway, and the Luftwaffe has successfully frozen important sea areas into safe roadways for Nazi soldiery. In the meantime by overrunning long strips of the European coastline German armies hope to achieve the double goal of securing additional points from which to strike at their enemies and of interdicting more of the world's waterways to democratic employment.

By this process of "coast creeping" the Nazis have protected their borders in the same way that the United States stiffened its in-shore defenses by acquiring bases from Great Britain. But the Nazi procedure differed from the American in that its bases prepared the way for such offensive action as the High Command might think advisable. From Norway the Reichswehr could assault Scotland or the Soviet Union; the French coasts lead to England; from southwestern France a totalitarian highway runs via Cadiz to West and South Africa. The Nazi foothold in Thrace points toward Turkey—and the rest of Asia. Protection is afforded by the offensive threat inherent in the Nazi strategic positions.

By similarly spreading its own defensive system to the east—thus far to Iceland—Washington has passed beyond the conception of passive resistance which has always been so disastrous to the democratic cause. It has, in fact, adopted the totalitarian "concrete-ocean" point of view. By insisting that communications will be kept open with this new outpost by means of naval forces based upon Newfoundland, Greenland, and Iceland, Washington has gone a long way toward constructing a "concrete" roadway to Reykjavik. By promising that supplies will reach Britain—to be assured by the sea and air arms stationed in Iceland and by similar British forces operating from Scotland and the Faroes—the well-guarded lane is extended to England. And since it is no farther from Reykjavik to Berlin or Norway than it is from Boston to Miami or from New York to Chicago, respectively, Iceland is seen to possess certain offensive potentialities—comparable to those of the Nazi bases—which can be exploited when the need arises. The threat to the Americas, today and tomorrow, can only come from the aircraft factories and shipyards of an autocrat-dominated Europe, and these cradles of danger may be more effectively reached from Iceland—and Britain—than from Bermuda and Newfoundland. Timely preventive action can now replace the customarily tardy and costly democratic attempts to remedy intolerable situations.

Iceland provides a strategic base for American reactions to such contingencies as a Nazi invasion of Britain or of Eire, a severe Russian reverse, a British offensive stalled in some part of German-occupied Europe, or

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events compelling actual American participation in the conflict. Then, of course, there is the value of Iceland as a diversion. Since the Germans may never know the number of United States troops landed in Reykjavik, they will be forced to strengthen their garrisons in Norway lest a large British expeditionary force, released from the task of guarding the sub-Arctic outpost, attempt to eject the Nazis from Oslo or to attack the rear of their forces engaging the Soviets in the Murmansk region. For such an enterprise the number of British divisions on the island could naturally be increased.

Another measure of the value of Iceland would be a consideration of the consequences of its hypothetical conquest by the Germans. If the Royal Navy were unable to base its anti-submarine formations on Iceland, the losses of British merchantmen, staggering as they have been, would undoubtedly be increased. Bombers and U-boats would force convoys to follow the more southerly shipping lanes, where they would be delivered to raiders based on French ports. Moreover, the Icelandic fjords are probably giving better temporary shelter to various units of the British navy than is provided by the anchorages of Scapa Flow. Concentration of such warships in home waters might expose them to serious damage. From the economic standpoint the fisheries of Iceland are unquestionably an important source of food for Britain. Everything considered, the loss of the island would be a serious blow to the surviving democracies.

As to the defensive problem of Iceland, the rugged fjords biting into the barren plateau on every side but leading nowhere do not invite large-scale invasion, especially since communications around and across the island are exceedingly meager. But the lessons of Norway and of Crete make it advisable to keep a sharp lookout and to take no chances. Iceland is, of course, relatively distant from hostile bases, and American warships in its deep, long inlets would be well protected from submarine attack. Perpendicular cliffs, narrow beaches, rock-infested inlets that require expert pilotage, lagoons and quicksands, deserts and icefields, combine to assist the defenders.

Those against whom the occupation of Iceland is directed will appreciate the full significance of this historic move.

New Allies, Old Issues

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

WE MAY laugh at the tortuous logic by which the comrades and fellow-travelers transmute the imperialist war of yesterday into the holy crusade of today, and we may be irritated by the conviction of the isolationists that Americans ought to regard the victory of either side in the German-Russian struggle as undesirable, but even those of us who have had a fairly consistent policy in regard to this war have to confess to an embarrassing shift of sympathies when we read the day's news of fighting on the Finnish front.

Do these inconstancies and inconsistencies in the realm of strategy make the world struggle as meaningless in terms of principle as some of our cynics contend? If we probe into the whole problem of the relation of political-military strategy to political-moral principle we must conclude that this relation is governed by a basic and perennial characteristic of human history. There is an absolutely clear distinction in history only between political and moral principles which transcend political institutions and the actual life of nations. There is a clear distinction between democracy and tyranny, but there is no unambiguous distinction between democratic and tyrannical nations and political systems. No disembodied political ideals or systems of culture are found in human history. Systems of culture and of civilization are always embodied in particular states, nations, or geographic-political organisms. And the embodiment of ideals in institutions has always been ambiguous. No "democratic" civilization has ever existed, or will ever exist, without contradictory elements of tyranny and imperialism in its life; and no tyrannical political system is without minimal achievements of "justice." Consistent injustice would be completely self-destructive.

These ambiguities are always enhanced in times of conflict by alliances of the two sides with political forces which do not embody with any clarity the dominant ideas and principles of the conflict. The alliances are determined by considerations of strategy, and the strategy is prompted by geographic contiguity and military exigencies. Finland is not a totalitarian power, though it is now linked with Germany, nor has Turkey shifted from communism to fascism because the occupation of Crete forced it to alter its diplomatic orientation. It is always possible, of course, that alliances prompted by momentary necessity may, if maintained long enough, lead to common political ideals, and it cannot be denied that the ambiguities of strategy partially obscure the contrast of principle which lies at the center of the struggle. But they obscure that contrast wholly only for those minds which have no understanding of historical reality.

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There is, in fact, a type of rationalism in the democratic world which does not understand history at all, because it believes in the possibility of reducing historical facts to a simple moral logic. It is scornful of the necessity of political and military strategy and cynical about the inconsistencies between strategy and principle. It does not understand that in history all treasures of the spirit are borne in earthen vessels, and that no such vessel is ever a perfect vehicle of the treasure which it bears. Some moral idealists would like to defeat Nazism in the abstract, as a system of tyrannical political principles, without defeating Germans. Or they would be willing to defeat Germany if they could find a nation "pure" enough to deserve to be the protagonist of freedom and justice. But they are blind to the fact that meanwhile the German army is a very efficacious instrument of tyranny, and that military impotence before that army leads to military defeat, and military defeat leads to spiritual capitulation.

More purely spiritual factors are of course present in the situation. Military defeat alone would not have required the kind of spiritual capitulation of which Vichy is a pathetic example. The spiritual resistance of the Norwegians proves the point. History actually combines physical and spiritual factors of bewildering complexity and endless variety. Sometimes physical slavery produces immunity to spiritual capitulation. On the other hand, Sweden may slip into the Nazi orbit spiritually by its desperate effort to avoid physical surrender.

In every conflict in history certain elements on each side have belonged logically to the other side but have been prevented by contingent factors either from knowing where they belonged or from acting in accordance with their convictions. Not only in military but in every conceivable kind of moral and political strategy we make use of allies who do not share our dominant purpose but who, for purposes of their own, serve our ends. We shall scorn such help only if we mistake mathematical-moral abstractions for the real world. To be sure, common purposes are a firmer basis for common action than divergent ends. But we do not scorn help on the road from those whose paths transect ours, or even on occasion from those going in the opposite direction.

In the present world conflict problems of principle and strategy have led to more than ordinary confusion because of the peculiar character of the political systems engaged in it—Nazism, communism, and democracy. Nazism, having no principle but the self-justifying character of its own power, avails itself of a strategic freedom which has been enjoyed by no other political system in the modern world. Yet it has a cynical awareness of the fact that normal men think of life in terms of principle as well as strategy. Therefore it invests each new turn of strategy with an "ideological" content. When it was allied with communism, it made use of the pathetic illusions of the Communists to sow disaffection among the workers of the democratic world. When military strategy prompted the attack upon Russia, it sought once more to interpret its struggle as a crusade against Bolshevism, and it has not been wholly unsuccessful in gaining acceptance for this implausible pretense among religious and reactionary elements in the democratic world. Mr. Hoover, Colonel Lindbergh, and certain Catholic clergymen rose to the bait immediately. The Pope was wiser than they.

Communist shifts in strategy are almost as notorious as the Nazi shifts, but they have a slightly more complex basis in principle. In Communist thought the pride and power of Russia are not a self-justifying end. Communist strategy is determined by principles. These principles are the belief that a Communist society is the final end of history and that this society is embodied in the Russian state. If one can believe both of these propositions—implausible as they are to most of us—the Communist strategy appears logical enough. If Communist strategy has seemed unprincipled to most of us, this was because we did not share the principles which informed it. The Nazi-Soviet pact, for instance, was partly prompted and justified by military necessity, and the mistakes of the democratic world contributed to the situation which seemed to make the pact necessary. But the readiness of the Communists to declare fascism a "matter of taste" was possible only because communism did not hold tyranny in the same abhorrence as the rest of us did. This judgment was prompted not by lack of principles but by wrong principles, for communism has no understanding of the value of liberty but believes that the socialization of property, no matter how much liberty is lost in the process, is the final solution of the problem of injustice.

In so far as the Nazi-Soviet pact was prompted by military necessity it was not without logical justification from the standpoint of the Russian state. What was ludicrous was the "ideological" support which world communism gave the pact; communism was betrayed into this error by a fault in Marxist thought. Orthodox Marxism regards the sentiment of nationality as a passing feeling which is overcome in a socialist society. It regarded Russia, not as a nation-state with a natural inclination to subordinate ultimate loyalties to the desire to live, but as a kind of incarnation of the socialist ideal. Marxist orthodoxy does not understand that there is always an element of contradiction between the principles embodied in a political organism and the mere survival impulse of that organism, that there is always "a law in my members which wars against the law that is in my mind."

In contrast to the unprincipled freedom of strategy in Nazi politics and the utopian illusions behind Communist strategy, the democratic world is still filled with a type of idealism which would bind strategy slavishly to principle and which would rather be overwhelmed by

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the contingent factors of history than bend them to a dominant political and moral purpose. Fortunately, the men of action do not make this mistake. Winston Churchill adapted policy to the new situation created by the German invasion of Russia quickly enough; and we shall not know for some time to what degree his strategic imagination actually created the situation which brought about Russian resistance rather than capitulation without resistance. But our "idealists," our men of thought and "conscience," are always distressed by flexibility in strategy and morbidly fearful lest it obscure the basic issue and make a struggle meaningless. So the ridiculous idea that we are being asked to fight for the "Russian way of life" gains credence among us. The obvious fact is that if Hitler can gain the grain of the Ukraine and the oil of the Caucasus, he will be able to dominate the Western world in a few years if that world remains confused, and to defy us for many years even if our confusion is resolved into a robust will to resist.

If our Western world perished before the onslaughts of an unprincipled strategist because its "idealism" lacked strategic flexibility, history might regard the outcome as a just punishment for our blindness. But such a judgment would not make the result any more tolerable.

100,000 Political Footballs

BY ALDEN STEVENS

THE California legislature adjourned on June 16 without appropriating funds for the continuation of the State Relief Administration. The last checks went out later in the month. Then the 2,200 employees of the administration were dropped and the 76 offices closed, without any attempt to work out a transition program. The Governor blames the legislature, and the legislature blames the Governor. Meanwhile, 100,000 Californians are wondering about their next meal.

Governor Olson

For this callous and shameful neglect of the state's needy, both Governor Culbert L. Olson and the predominantly Republican legislature must be held responsible. The legislature, it is true, has been gunning for the S. R. A. since 1937 and finally "got" it simply by adjourning without appropriating funds, but it is necessary to look behind this to get the whole picture. In fairness to the legislators it should be emphasized that they have never refused to appropriate money for relief, though sometimes they have not appropriated enough, and that they did not refuse this time. What they did was to charge Governor Olson with using the S. R. A. for political purposes, and to demand that the agency be liquidated and relief turned back to the counties. This done, they were willing to distribute state money—the state is in good financial condition—among the counties and to allow the State Social Welfare Department a measure of supervision over its expenditure. Olson refused to consent to this compromise.

The Associated Farmers and various other California tory groups have long wanted to see relief turned back to the counties, partly because they have sought to strip a liberal Democratic governor of power, but even more because in many cases they control the county officials, and all through that control can more easily have people thrown off relief at harvest time. As the Pixley *Enterprise,* which represents these interests, put it, "The way for the taxpayers of Tulare County to assist in this 'back-to-work' movement on the part of the continuous reliefer is to see that the able-bodied are denied county welfare aid as long as there is work to be had in the San Joaquin Valley." The *Enterprise* is being pretty frank. Efforts to force down agricultural wages by impressing relief clients into the fields are often made but seldom talked about. Reliefers are wanted in the fields, not because they make good workers —most of them are not in good enough physical condition—but because a large number of people looking for work has a psychological effect that makes it possible to hire labor at a lower rate.

What is talked up a great deal more is the charge that Governor Olson made a personal political machine out of the S. R. A. Unfortunately this accusation is by no means baseless, and the Governor's stubborn refusal, even though it meant the death of the agency, to cease using the S. R. A. for his own political advantage makes him share responsibility for the present situation. Olson made the S. R. A. serve political purposes almost as soon as he got into office, to the consternation of his liberal supporters. His own administrator, Dewey Anderson, chose to resign rather than approve the Governor's purely political appointments to jobs in the agency. The Cali-

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fornia civil-service laws leave a governor with little patronage, and in 1939 thousands of job-hungry Democrats were clamoring for their share of the spoils. The S. R. A. was one of the few agencies not under civil service, and at that time it had more than 5,000 employees. In yielding to the pressure of his supporters the Governor also strengthened his own political position. When he moved the S. R. A. offices from San Francisco to Los Angeles in the face of administrative reasons against the change, he gained enough patronage and power to dominate the Los Angeles Democratic machine, and this gave him control of the state machine.

Olson flatly rejected a compromise measure, offered in the Senate, which included an appropriation of $36,000,000 for relief for the next biennium and provision for the liquidation of the S. R. A. over a period of one year, with the transference of its functions to the Social Welfare Department. By this transfer relief was to be placed 100 per cent under civil service, and thus political use of it was to be effectively damped. The scheme also provided a means by which counties wishing to handle their own relief problems could do so. Governor Olson spurned this proposal, in part at least because he could see it would put an end to his machine. It may be that he also saw an opportunity to make things uncomfortable for the legislature, which had overridden his veto on many occasions. The legislators certainly experienced a rude shock when they discovered that Olson had no intention of calling them back into special session and that a terrific load would be plumped into the laps of the county commissioners.

What will happen now to the 100,000 persons who were receiving aid from the S. R. A.? Since the pressure exerted by some elements for a general return of relief to local agencies is nation-wide, California's forced experiment is going to be closely watched. Some of the 100,000 will get jobs, for California has more defense contracts than any other state, and the S. R. A. case load had been gradually declining for some time. In thirty of the state's fifty-eight counties the relief load is less than 100 cases—about 350 individuals—and most of these can be absorbed by the county welfare organizations. In some of the big counties, such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Alameda (Oakland and Berkeley), strong efforts are being made to work out substitute programs, with a fair chance of eventual success, although the problem of raising funds is giving officials nightmares. However, a great many families formerly dependent on the S. R. A. in all parts of the state will find it extremely tough going; the tightest pinch may be expected in the large agricultural counties, where the Associated Farmers are influential. In Santa Clara County, of ninety-three ex-S. R. A. clients who applied for aid before July 7, only eight were granted it.

The S. R. A. is probably permanently dead, although state money may later be made available to the counties in some way. Ham-and-Eggs and the other highly imaginative socio-economic schemes that have characterized California politics in the past are inactive and, except for a little fund-raising flurry at the Townsend headquarters, show few signs of revival. No other organizations seem prepared to take up the cause of the 100,000 Californians who have been booted back and forth between a reactionary legislature and a stubborn governor. As things have turned out, neither side is the gainer: the S. R. A. is wrecked, and the legislators will suffer politically for having increased the tax load on their home counties.

In the Wind

LABOR NOTES: Ever since the Soviet-Nazi pact was signed, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, Mexico's pro-Communist labor leader, has been in virtual retirement. He was succeeded as president of the C. T. M. by Fidel Velasquez, an anti-Stalinist, and his political influence vanished when President Cárdenas went out of office. A few days before the outbreak of the Soviet-Nazi war Toledano attemped a comeback by publicly charging Velasquez and President Avila Camacho with being in the service of "Anglo-American imperialism." The attempt failed dismally, but Toledano has now managed a real comeback—as leader of a new organization pressing for Latin American support of the Soviet Union and Great Britain. . . . At the meeting of C. I. O. leaders on June 7 Harry Bridges made a plea for speedy and uninterrupted defense production. At the last gathering of the same group he spoke against all attempts at speed-up in defense work.

THE COUGHLINITES are campaigning against General Robert E. Wood, head of America First, who, unlike ex-Colonel Lindbergh and Senator Wheeler, is opposed to having Coughlin followers affiliated with the committee.

GEORGE SELDES'S news letter, *In Fact,* reports that it is "able . . . to state as a fact" that Chief of Staff Marshall is the source of recurrent newspaper stories credited to "high military authority" which predict almost immediate capitulation of the Red Army.

THE UNION JACK appeared alongside the American and Soviet flags at the recent Communist mass-meeting in Madison Square Garden—but it was displayed upside down.

A PUBLISHER in Clarksburg, West Virginia, owns a morning Democratic paper and an evening Republican paper. A recent report by the NLRB held that the two constituted one bargaining unit. In his appeal the publisher's attorney held that "since the *Telegram* is Republican and the *Exponent* is Democratic it will affect the traditional policies of these two organs of public opinion and destroy their independence if the editorial employees of both are organized as a single unit."

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A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

Soldiers' Pay

"YOU mean the duck, duck, duck," said the sergeant. He grinned. The selectees had not grinned about the deductions. Veterans of the last war remember them, but men in the new army who thought their $21 pay, while not much, was $21 clear are still surprised by them. The soldiers on the street corner said that after they got through paying out money for expenses they had only about $10 left to spend. "If they keep on deducting, I'll be owing the government fifty cents."

Among the expenses they griped about were cleaning bills, laundry, shoe repairs, shoe shines, haircuts, anything broken or lost, a 25-cent fee for recreation, 25 cents more for the old soldiers' home. In addition low-cost government insurance, while voluntary, had to be taken in the first 120 days after induction or not at all, and it cost 65 cents per $1,000 on a soldier twenty years old. There is not much money left in soldiers' pockets for fun.

When the sergeant and I went over their complaints, we figured that for a man carrying $1,000 of insurance on his life, which he is being drilled to risk, the deductions would come to $3.35 a month in the summer time, when no winter uniforms need cleaning but when laundry costs about $1.50 and a couple of necessary haircuts will set the soldier back 70 cents. It is not a great deal, but it cuts quite a hunk out of the supposed velvet of soldier's pay above his living. If he smokes—which certainly cannot be called an obligation of Uncle Sam's—that would take, say, $3.55 more. A soldier has personal necessities, such as razor blades, shaving soap, stamps, a lot of little things, which we might call $5, unless the post exchange has sold him something special on the instalment plan. Add $5 to $3.55 to $3.35 and subtract it from $21. That leaves $9.10 for all the off-post recreation and everything else a selectee wishes to buy for himself. And such recreation, as the army has stated in justification for the building of the recreation centers, is what the soldier wants. He can't buy a lot of it in thirty days for $9.10.

Perhaps the smallness of that sum saves him from the sin which has engaged the energies of the morale officers and the medical corps and a special division of Paul McNutt's Federal Security Agency. Beer sells for 50 cents a bottle in the better bat houses, and it costs 25 cents to get a tune out of the nickelodeon. There are other expenses. Maybe morale is promoted and health preserved by keeping the soldiers poor.

But what most of the boys want is a date with a nice girl. At home that might have been cheap enough. He could take her for a walk down to the common or just sit on the porch and talk about his chances of promotion at the mill. But a new nice girl costs more than the nice girl cost at home. A soldier is human, and he does not like to show up acting poor. At the very least he wants to take her to a movie and afterward to the drugstore for a drink. In my town that would cost him $1.10, not counting any kind of transportation. It is not much, but it is still a sum when it is for one evening out of thirty over which $9.10 has to be spread.

There has been a good deal of silly talk by people who are more interested in low wages for workers than better morale for soldiers about plumbers getting as much for working one day as a soldier does for maneuvering for a week. As the comparison is used, it makes very little sense. But in terms of morale, in terms of good natural recreation, the little pay from which the "duck, duck, ducks" must come is one of the chief things which stand in the way of a contented army.

As a philanthropic and patriotic people we've just been giving $10,000,000 to operate recreation centers in the towns to which the soldiers go for some change from the sight of the hideous but healthy barracks and for a little fun. Sailors and defense workers are going to share in that fund. And however it is spent, it cannot mean more than $5 per man. I don't think that is enough to make them all happy.

Obviously nobody goes into the army to get rich. There is a song about that, hitched merrily to the most American epithet. But for everything else in defense there is more money than almost any of us can understand. I am not interested in pulling plumbers' pay down because soldiers get less. But I doubt that $9.10 per month is enough to buy a man much recreation far from home, including the transportation to it. I'm sure that the recreation the soldier wants is that which he can choose for himself. He wants to go to see nice girls, but he doesn't want to go feeling like a bum. The best way to put more morale in our defenders would be to put a little bit more money in their pockets. It may be a crude suggestion in a patriotic time, but I doubt that it would shock the young men who have been selected to save us.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

I HAVE just gone through the complete file of *Horizon,* an English literary magazine which was launched in mid-war and is still going strong. It is a monthly edited by Cyril Connolly, who has packed an extraordinary amount of lively reading into sixteen issues. It is interesting not only in itself but for the intimate, unposed portrait it affords of writers and artists under fire. The policy of *Horizon* has been what Connolly calls a literary policy—of printing all the good writing it can find and of encouraging artists to stick to their lasts. Mr. Connolly sets the tone of the paper in his monthly Comments, which are bright, irreverent, witty, and informal. *Horizon* gives critical support to the war, and the following notes, though written a year ago, still sum up its view of the writer's predicament and function:

> It is a war which seems archaic and unreal, a war of which we are all ashamed—and yet a war which has to be won. . . . it is a war which dissipates energy and disperses friends, which lowers the standard of thinking and feeling . . . which inaugurates an era of death, privation, danger, and boredom, guaranteeing the insecurity of projects and the impermanence of personal relations. But there it is. We are in it: for as long as Hitler exists we must stay there. The war is the enemy of creative activity, and writers and painters are wise and right to ignore it. . . .
>
> But they must also realize that their liberty and security are altogether threatened, that fascism is against *them,* and that the war, although not as anti-fascist as they could wish, is much more anti-fascist than anything else that has happened. The artist and the intellectual are lucky to be alive. They must celebrate by creating more culture as fast as they can. . . .

A few of the literary items that stand out in my mind are a short story by Elizabeth Bowen, Stephen Spender's September Journal, a discussion by an American, Clement Greenberg, of the significance of commercial culture—slick magazines, movies, and the like—to which he applies the expressive German word *Kitsch,* reminiscences of James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, and Henry James, a number of good poems, a stinging little essay by Catherine Andrassy on Henri de Montherlant's hero, Costals. Miss Andrassy, among other things, documents my own observation that Costals is careful to select for his brilliant and amusing exercise in woman-baiting—though it is much more than that—only those types of women which suit his purpose; and she draws a shrewd, unsparing portrait of Costals as male. Needless to say, I read with particular interest, in the May issue, an article on our own Hemingway—an intensely interesting, and devastating, analysis by a Spaniard, Arturo Barea, of "For Whom the Bell Tolls" as a picture of Spanish life. Mr. Barea was especially scornful and specific on the unreality of Maria.

Though it has followed a "literary policy" *Horizon* has also published many excellent articles on the political and social aspects of the war—and the peace when it comes. They offer vivid proof, first of all, that freedom of expression and of vigorous criticism still prevails in Britain at war, and they are interesting in themselves. The March issue contained, among other things, a brief, trenchant statement on the need for peace plans now by J. B. Priestley, whose arguments should be put under the noses of those who think it presumptuous if not rude to ask what of the future. The same issue had an excellent account and criticism, by a private, of the unimaginative treatment of recruits. It is headed Ours Not to Reason Why, and would no doubt serve as a picture of our own new army's life.

As Herbert Read says in the May issue, one realizes after a walk from the Bank of England to Piccadilly that the phrase "going about his business" has come to mean "picking his way among the ruins." Though *Horizon* has not turned up any great new writers, it pages reflect the astounding equanimity with which writers are going about their business, even if it be a discussion of Wilde at Oxford, the plays of Racine, or Some Notes on English Baroque. Many of the literary contributions carry no hint of having been written, posted, and printed in a city blasted by bombs; others, and their number is naturally increasing, reflect the war situation.

I agree that war is the enemy of creative activity, but I must say that Mr. Connolly's sad remark about the lowering of the standards of thinking and feeling does not apply to *Horizon.* The British writer, as he appears in its pages, has managed to maintain a miraculous sense of proportion, despite bombs and the boredom which from many accounts is the most grueling factor in this most sensational of wars.

MARGARET MARSHALL

The Nazis Day by Day

BERLIN DIARY. By William L. Shirer. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

THE profound moral indignation of this book is the thing one first remembers in sitting down to review it. Mr. Shirer, because he has seen Nazism at close quarters, is angry and scornful. No brooding over political tactics and no querulous speculations about the worth of democracy. Nazism is a macabre indecency. It is good to read such a book.

Then the excitement! There are cumulative power and tension in these concentrated entries, which in a most impressive way reduce the whole daily hash of news, rumors, and conjectures to the one essential fact. What one gets from this diary is only to be described as a sense of fate, the remorseless evolution of a doom that constantly threatens to escape the control even of those who contrive it. That is the striking thing. Mr. Shirer does not prophesy and he does not speculate. Yet all the foreboding that made Rauschning's first book so impressive is here. One is watching the time-table of tragedy. One sees the genie of evil that brooded over the early Nürnberg conventions rapidly take concrete form, to bewilder and mock the pitiful nations. And among those nations the German people make one. The account starts

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with superb descriptions of the Nürnberg rallies, the pageantry and the hysteria, the gorgeous show and the religious mysticism, the immense symphony orchestra playing a potboiler of Beethoven's, the crazed expressions and distorted faces, the tic-afflicted messiah, Putzi Hanfstängel, the "immense, high-strung, incoherent clown" gesticulating over the sweating multitudes, the "21,000 flags unfurled in the searchlights like a forest of weird trees."

The account goes on, missing nothing, to the very end of 1940, its gravity increasing and its judgments always vindicated by events.

We have been given very few extended reports on Germany in war time, and not one with such authority. Of a hundred speculations which Mr. Shirer's book provokes, the most interesting, perhaps, is that concerning German morale. It is odd how clear is the agreement among the people of Germany, Britain, the U. S. S. R., and the United States upon one vital matter, the desire for peace. Hitler sold himself upon a program of conquest and peace; not of conquest *by* peace, but peace with conquest. Chamberlain fooled England with the idea of the status quo and peace; the people of the U. S. S. R. wanted peace. We are still hoping to avoid war in this country, when we should declare it and wage it.

It was so in Germany right up to the inevitable outbreak of the war. It is so now. The Russo-German pact was popular with the German masses. Gone was the fear of war on two fronts. The German editors sat with Shirer, "gloating, boasting, sputtering that Britain won't dare to fight now." On August 26, 1939, Mr. Shirer says, the institution of ration cards struck a heavy blow at German morale. Even the Nazi propaganda machine had to step up its promises of peace. On August 29 the average German looked dejected. "Almost a defeatism was discernible in people." On August 31 everybody he talked to was against the war. Why bring up the Polish corridor after all these years? On September 1 there was no rejoicing. Hitler himself seemed discouraged. On September 3 at 11 a.m. the people were stunned. There was no hate for the British and the French. And during the so-called "phony war" everyone was hoping that the war clouds would somehow pass away. Reactions to British bombing raids disclosed the same phenomena. Nervousness, apprehension, and lowering of morale were apparent whenever the raids were effective. How the German press gloated over Borah's and Lindbergh's isolationist speeches! After the defeat and surrender of France there was no rejoicing, only dull assent to the inevitable and relief that the costs of war were still low. What is the feeling today when the casualty lists and the time perspective both lengthen?

There is an exception to this generalization. I rarely meet young people, but I know that in this country youth is on the whole pacifist and isolationist. In Germany, Mr. Shirer causes one to fear, the reverse is true.

None the less, "Berlin Diary" heartens one, now that Hitler's maneuvers, one hopes, are at an end. Hitler has not blundered in attacking Russia. That desperate enterprise was always a logical necessity. It was in the mechanical fate of this war. And what propaganda shall he use to sustain morale? A holy war against communism? Already Goebbels is finding it less holy, for two reasons. The trick did not work this time with the outer world, and while the German people will "defend" Germany for a long time, why should they want another war, however holy? If Mr. Shirer's estimate of earlier states of morale is correct, then today many more Germans must be affected.

I have not mentioned most of the merits of "Berlin Diary." The things Mr. Shirer could not say over the air from Berlin are here, and some of those things are terrible. They should be known. Apart from the excitement of the theme, the book gives an engrossing picture of the emergence of a new profession. One sees Shirer and his colleagues burning up wires to place reporters on the air in ordered series during war time, entreating someone in Rome to speak, imploring another in Berlin and Paris, haggling with governments for the use of radio stations, shunting a speech delivered in Rome through Geneva to another capital for radio transmission. No wonder the telephone bill for one week-end alone came to a thousand dollars. And what journalistic scoops! To get in alone at the signing of the armistice between France and Germany ought to satisfy any man. The competence that implies is in every part of this book.

RALPH BATES

Five Directions

FIVE YOUNG AMERICAN POETS: Mary Barnard, John Berryman, Randall Jarrell, W. R. Moses, George Marion O'Donnell. New Directions. $2.50.

ONE book for five poets cuts down on production costs but puts a burden on the space-serving reviewer, obliging the odium of comparison. Of these five, Mary Barnard seems least affected by "trends." What she records is her own "cool country." If the adjective characterizes as well as locates her poems, if in general they seem to reflect upon rather than be possessed by their subjects, there are signs of growing intensity, as in the strong contrast between fear and lustiness in The Axe. Her form tends to a rather vague free verse, not always well-enough articulated for the longer poems, suggestive of material rather than product. There is also a tendency to "give away" her poems by preliminary statement rather than to develop them dramatically. But it would be a mistake to underestimate her effectiveness merely because it is quiet.

John Berryman's prose note is the most directly related to his work. He paraphrases his own poem, On the London Train, to show how much more economically its complex of ideas is contained in the verse form. It is quite successful as far as it goes; but its success is its limitation. Confining itself to the association of ideas and to particularities of phrasing—a valuable method which may in time reveal to Mr. Berryman why certain of his lines seem thin, especially *after* explanation—it avoids considering the poem as a whole made up of related parts, with their intended cumulative effect. Persisted in exclusively, it would reduce poetry to solvable cryptograms; there is more than a suggestion of this in his very interesting and individual poems.

Randall Jarrell's versification is at once the most proficient and the most affected by *au-courantism.* His preface starts off on a "modernistic" tight-rope ramble and ends up by snarling both reader and himself in rather disparaging comments on "romanticism," "neo-classicism," and "historical processes." It is hard to tell for whom the irony is intended.

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"Auden is the only poet who has been influential very recently," he says; and the statement is backed up by a number of his poems: by their form, their use of words like "lucky," their contrasts of "the private guilt, the general grave," and their repersonalized abstractions—"love's logical obsessive face." He has taken a leaf from Dylan Thomas, too, in A Little Poem. The marks of these influences are undoubtedly not unconscious but the result of deliberate discipleship, and he is very expert at them.

If some of W. R. Moses's poems seem fragmentary, with a filler of "strong" adjectives; if phrases are twisted for the sake of rather obvious beats and rhymes; if the weight occasionally congregates (as in the three lines ending "wind-tipped stem," "ice-racked bay," "manhood's phlegm"); he is working toward effects quite distinct from those of the other poets: toward the highly charged lyric of Hopkins, the packed mysteries of Hart Crane, a more massive style, with phrases, like the stones of an arch, exerting pressure both ways.

George Marion O'Donnell's best work concerns the predicament of our time, with its "special signs of terror." His Evening to Morning, a very moving poem although it seems to continue beyond its end, asks the question: "What action now means act as a man should?" None of these poets tries to answer it. Their sincerity consists in acknowledging the riddle. Yet one significant attempt has been made in their untried direction. I refer to W. H. Auden's "The Double Man," which should interest all poets and readers involved in the same despair.

LLOYD FRANKENBERG

The Forgotten Islands

CROSS WINDS OF EMPIRE. By Woodbern E. Remington. The John Day Company. $3.

THE thesis of this book can be stated very simply: after three centuries of Spanish and American rule the Philippines, with their mixture of peoples and cultures, face the prospect of being overrun by a dynamic, Oriental Japan. But the statement of the thesis gives hardly a clue to the interest and value of this remarkable volume. For the author has combined two purposes with rare skill. His first objective clearly is to describe life in the Philippines as it appears to an observant Westerner, and his second is to go as far as he dares, as an officer in the United States army, in arousing Americans to the danger of abandoning the islands when the present transition period comes to an end five years hence.

The descriptive chapters are magnificently done. The heat, the smells, the color, and the romance of the tropics have rarely been more effectively painted. Colonel Remington is best acquainted with the regions of the islands inhabited by the Moros, and a large part of the book is devoted to their customs and views of life. But even in these sections, which on the surface seem to have little to do with the white man's world, the author has his second objective clearly in mind. Without avowedly pleading the cause of the Moros, he shows that they would suffer if placed under the domination of the Filipinos. And he makes it quite evident that the Moros provide a fertile field for Japanese propaganda. Similarly, without coming out and saying that he is opposed to giving the Philippines their independence, he gives a graphic description of their incapacity for self-rule, as he sees it. He pictures the Filipino social structure as "a patchwork of native tribal and Spanish feudal remnants . . . the local cacique . . . a mixture of Spanish grandee, American ward politician, and English squire, saturated with a devious Malayan inheritance . . . with the almost complete absence of . . . those substantial citizens who should normally form the solid basis of a democracy."

Concerning Colonel Remington's primary thesis there cannot be much doubt today. The Japanese threat is too real to be disregarded as it was a decade ago. Nor can it be denied that our attitude toward Philippine independence needs reexamination in the light of his trenchant analysis of internal social, economic, and political forces. But it is unfortunate that such an interesting and skilful work should be marred by the outworn "white man's burden" approach. This is no "new imperialism" that Colonel Remington offers but the old imperialism in a much more attractive wrapper.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

PUBLISHED THIS WEEK

RAINER MARIA RILKE. By E. M. Butler. Macmillan. $4.50.

LANDMARKS IN PHILOSOPHY. By Irwin Edman and Herbert W. Schneider. Reynal and Hitchcock. $4.

DEMOCRATIC FRANCE. The Third Republic from Sedan to Vichy. By Richard Walden Hale, Jr. Coward-McCann. $3.50.

GOOD NEIGHBORS. By Hubert Herring. Yale University Press. $3.

CONCLUDING UNSCIENTIFIC POSTSCRIPT. By Soren Kierkegaard. Princeton University Press. $6.

THE UNTAMED BALKANS. By Frederic W. L. Kovacs. Modern Age. $2.

THE NEW TESTAMENT IN BASIC ENGLISH. Dutton. $2.

AMERICAN ISSUES. Vol I, The Social Record. Vol. II, The Literary Record. Edited by Willard Thorp, Merle Curti, and Carlos Baker. Lippincott. $3 each.

GOVERNMENT IN WARTIME EUROPE. Edited by Harold Zink and Taylor Cole. Reynal and Hitchcock. $2.

THE DEFENSE OF FREEDOM. Four Addresses on the Present Crisis in American Democracy. By Edmund Ezra Day. Cornell University Press. $1.25.

TWO SURVIVED. The Story of Tapscott and Waddicombe, Who Were Torpedoed in Mid-Atlantic and Survived Seventy Days in an Open Boat. By Guy Pearce Jones. Random House. $2.

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IN BRIEF

ANN CARMENY. By Hoffman Birney. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.50.

A hearty novel about America's growing pains in Utah and Montana in the 1860's, when the Mormons and the Indians and the no-'count whites all added up to a passel of trouble.

LINCOLN ON THE EVE OF '61. A Journalist's Story by Henry Villard. Edited by Harold G. and Oswald Garrison Villard. Alfred A. Knopf. $1.25.

Henry Villard was sent by the New York *Herald* to cover Lincoln between his election and his inauguration. His day-to-day dispatches not only give a fascinating picture of Lincoln's private life but provide an estimate of his character that is little short of astounding from an inexperienced reporter writing of an untried man. Few would wish to alter it now in any important particular. This little book is interesting and valuable.

ROBESPIERRE AND THE FOURTH ESTATE. By Ralph Korngold. Introduction by Crane Brinton. Modern Age Books. $3.75.

The Fourth Estate in France is not the press, it should perhaps be explained, but the proletariat. Even liberal historians have failed until lately to sympathize completely with the proletariat, and most historians have come from the more or less privileged classes, who were the principal sufferers from the Reign of Terror. For even the most liberally inclined, therefore, Robespierre has always been at best a modified monster. Carlyle, with his "sea-green Incorruptible," gave a slightly comic turn to Robespierre's admittedly greatest virtue. As Professor Crane Brinton points out in an introduction full of historical wisdom, "Robespierre's personal integrity ... has withstood the most careful investigations of historians by no means predisposed in his favor." Mr. Korngold's clearly conceived, solidly grounded, and finely written biography is one of those really impartial books, concealing nothing on the one hand, condemning nothing on the other, which open a door in the mind. He seeks only to explain, and for one reader at any rate he is the first writer in English to present a Robespierre who is completely credible. More than that, as Professor Brinton says, on account of the persistence of the revolutionary tradition in France, Mr. Korngold sheds light not only all around, but backward and forward—forward into 1940 and, let us hope, beyond.

RECORDS

COLUMBIA'S new set (456, $3.50) of Mozart's Symphony in E flat has arrived, with a performance by Beecham and the London Philharmonic at once so powerful, so sensitive, so just and right in its contours and tonal values and in the effect these give to the unending wonders of the work, and with the contours and values of the performance reproduced with such breath-taking spaciousness, clarity, cleanness of definition, and fidelity as to make the set one of the finest of all time. My review copy had one side with slightly wavering pitch and another with a noisily swishing surface; and the same swish occurred in two other copies that I heard.

With this set have arrived two other Columbia releases: Mendelssohn's Capriccio Brillant for piano and orchestra, well played by Joana Graudan with the Minneapolis Symphony under Mitropoulos (X-197, $2.50), and Turina's "Oracion del Torero," well done by the Gordon Quartet of a few years back (68505-D, $1). I can discover nothing in the Mendelssohn piece to explain the recording of it; the Turina is a sophisticated playing with Spanish idiom that tickles the ear pleasantly.

There is little to get excited about in the July Victor records that I have heard so far. Bach's Clavier Concerto in F minor (Set 786, $2.50) is one of his uninteresting products of craftsmanship and routine; the performance is one in which the pianist Edwin Fischer is concerned chiefly with pianissimos and with the beautiful technical finish of the playing of his chamber orchestra. And Mozart's Violin Sonata K. 376 in F major (Set 791, $2.50) is one of his less interesting products, which gets no help from the performance of Yehudi and Hephzibah Menuhin. The musical quality of Yehudi's playing is shockingly bad, and even his tone, at least as it comes off these records, is unpleasant; but the worse shock is the playing of Hephzibah, which used to be so incisive and sparkling, and which in this performance is a fluent murmur.

Tchaikovsky's gifts are evident in some of the passages of his early Symphony No. 2 in C minor (Set 790, $4.50); but it remains a lesser work that one is content to hear once. Goossens's excellent performance with the Cincinnati Symphony is recorded with excessive brilliance and some reverberation. The enjoyable music in the Gluck-Mottl Ballet Suite (Set 787, $2.50) gets a fair performance of "Pops" concert caliber by Fiedler with the Boston "Pops" Orchestra which is recorded with harshness. Two of the best Strauss waltzes, "Wiener Blut" and "Frühlingsstimmen," get full-blooded and gorgeous-sounding performances by Ormandy with the Philadelphia Orchestra (18060, $1). But Moiseivitch's record (18050, $1) of Weber's charming "Invitation to the Dance," heavily laden with piano pyrotechnics by Taussig, is something to avoid.

The art of Povla Frijsh is wonderful and exciting in itself even when applied to the slight material in her album Art Songs Volume 2 (Set 789, $4)—some finely wrought French songs by Hahn, Dupont, Duparc, Chausson, Fauré, and Debussy; one of Ravel's recitatives; three of Dvorak's Gypsy Songs; and three songs in English by Rebecca Clarke, Randall Thompson, and Charles Naginski. And the performances that are exciting include the beautiful playing of accompaniments that Celius Dougherty makes so integral a part of what Frijsh does.

Bruna Castagna sings the Gavotte "Me voici dans son boudoir" from "Mignon" well, but her tremolo is excessive and her style unimpressive in the Chanson boheme from "Carmen" (2161, $.75).

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

ALEXANDER KIRALFY, an authority on military and naval strategy, has contributed to *Asia* and official publications of the army and navy.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, professor of applied Christianity at Union Theological Seminary, has written many articles for *The Nation* concerned with the conflict of morals and politics. He is the chairman of the Union for Democratic Action.

ALDEN STEVENS is working on the National Defense section of *McCall's Magazine.*

RALPH BATES is the author of "The Fields of Paradise."

LLOYD FRANKENBERG is the author of a book of poems, "Red Kite."

[Keith Hutchison's fortnightly column, Everybody's Business, will not appear during the summer months.]

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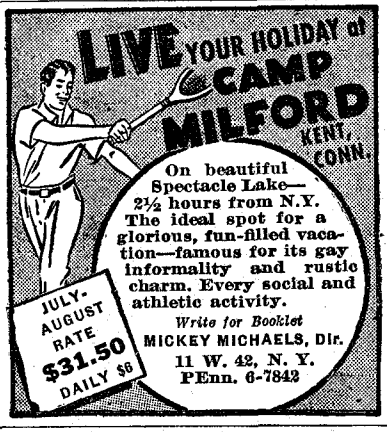

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Letters to the Editors

The Sacred Right to Strike

Dear Sirs: An example of the presumably wilfully obstructive tactics being pursued by certain labor leaders in this national emergency was provided by a statement by Milton Kaufman, executive vice-president of the American Newspaper Guild, as quoted in the New York *Times* of June 20. In a letter to R. J. Thomas, president of the United Automobile Workers and national vice-president of the C. I. O., in explanation of his public support, voiced through the newspapers of the nation, of the outlaw strike at the North American Aviation Company, Mr. Kaufman said, "There can be no justification for the use of troops against strikers."

Such a theory uttered by a corner soap-boxer might be ignored, but coming from a high union leader able to disseminate it widely to uninstructed readers, it must be regarded seriously. For what Mr. Kaufman is saying is that the right to strike is absolute, is never to be qualified by law. He is saying, indeed, that the right to strike transcends all law. In asserting this Mr. Kaufman is in agreement with Communist propaganda outside Russia, which continually stresses the erroneous theory that all civil rights are absolute rights, standing above law. The fact, of course, is that civil rights, including the right to strike, are all projections of law, and are subject to qualification by law.

In Mr. Kaufman's theory labor leaders like himself stand above the law. Sovereignty resides with the labor leaders who call strikes, even though they call them against the wishes of members, as in the North American Aviation case. Such a claim is as mischievous as would be a claim by employers that they had the right privately to determine wages and hours, prices, and the terms of the marketing of commodities.

Since putting forward this claim Mr. Kaufman has embroidered upon it at the annual convention of the American Newspaper Guild, where, in effect, he held that all strikes, without any regard for the facts concerned, should be regarded as sacred. According to this theory strikes provoked by labor racketeers and totalitarian saboteurs should be accepted without questioning. No picket line must be violated; it must not even be analyzed.

Is it not obvious that Mr. Kaufman has disqualified himself, formally, as a representative of American labor? Is it not clear that his philosophy is totalitarian? FERDINAND LUNDBERG

New York, July 8

No "Authorized" Biography

Dear Sirs: The review of my book "The Soong Sisters" by Nym Wales, published in your issue of April 19, contains one or two statements which I feel bound to question. The material for the book was not "collected with the cooperation of Madame H. H. Kung and Madame Chiang Kai-shek." It was with the greatest difficulty that I persuaded either of the ladies to read my script before publication, and that is all they did, ultimately. There was no promise, implied or otherwise, on my part to allow them to censor what I had written, and, what is more important, they made no attempt to censor it.

The only corrections they suggested were those of fact. Neither lady made the slightest attempt to change any of my expressed opinions or interpretations, and they were scrupulously careful to speak only of the parts pertaining directly to themselves. I have in my possession a letter from Madame Kung in reply to mine asking her for information about herself. She wrote: "You can go ahead and write anything you please about me, for it seems that certain authors who have written 'best-sellers' have been able to make fortunes for themselves by describing my personality, activities, and mentality without having even seen me. If they, why not you, who have at least met me." I cannot feel that Miss Wales is correct, therefore, when she speaks of "The Soong Sisters" as an "authorized biography." I have been careful, indeed, not to call it authorized.

In the second place, I did not fail "to make the most important point about Madame Kung, which is that her financial wizardry has built up what is probably the greatest personal fortune in modern Chinese history." Like Miss Wales, I had heard the treaty-port rumors, and I investigated this allegation to the best of my ability. I discovered that the Kung family was one of the richest in China long before Dr. Kung entered government service. In fact, our own Minister to China, Dr. Reinsch, as far back as the 1920's, wrote a book about China in which after a visit to Dr. Kung's Shansi home he pointed out that the Kung family were the Morgans of China. Madame Kung is a clever business woman, though I would not call her a financial wizard. She makes no secret of her deep interest in business and finance, but I have not found any evidence beyond the usual hearsay which always accompanies prominent names that she amassed an "enormous fortune" for her family. EMILY HAHN

Hongkong, May 28

Dear Sirs: Methinks the lady doth protest too much! NYM WALES

New York, June 25

"So Long as It's Red"

Dear Sirs: If you happen to look over your list of subscribers you will see that I am among them and have been for a great many years. I always looked upon your paper as being either ruby red or a gentle pink. I always read the writings of Heywood Broun and Villard and the other articles because I think it a part of wisdom to know what the enemies of our nation are publishing and writing, but lately your "liberal weekly" has got so extremely conservative that I feel sure I shall cancel my subscription before long.

Meanwhile, what could you recommend as a real "red" publication that I, an old ultra-conservative, should read in order to keep myself reasonably well posted? Judging from the articles printed in your paper lately, you would die in the defense of the United States instead of dying to destroy it.

F. R. BURNHAM

Los Angeles, July 9

CORRECTION: In *The Nation* for May 10, in the column In the Wind, it was stated that the Continental Rubber Company of Erie, Pennsylvania, was engaged chiefly in the manufacture of non-defense materials and that a strike at the plant was therefore not a stoppage of defense production. We have since learned that the Continental Rubber Company is engaged in vital defense work and was at the time of the recent strike.—EDITORS THE NATION.

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